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WHOSE EMERGENCY?

AN OLD MOVIE gag depicts a stupid panicky man who, confronted by a burglar, holds a pistol to his own head and says, "Take one step forward and I'll fire." Well...this Government in bringing in emergency measures of half-closing industry in order to get round the energy crisis (e.g. the Arab embargo, the miners' overtime ban, the electrical engineers' overtime ban, and the rail work-to-rule) has fired the pistol at its own head. Professor Kaldor says that the cut to induwtry will cost eighty times as much as the miners' wage needs! It has also been calculated that the cost of social security payments to the 3-day unemployed will exceed the miners' claims.

We have been promised decisive action by William Whitelaw, the victor of Sunningdale. To some, including Harold Wilson, he appears to be the man on a white horse (appropriately enough) who at a stroke will solve all our problems. He has had his stroke which seems to have been paralysis. Our dreams of a Whitelaw Christmas have become a nightmare.

There was an interesting if unenlightening round-up in The Observer of the prospects for revolution, I.S., the Communist Party, the Mao Tse Tung Thought Institute, Trotskyist Workers' Revolutionary Party (SLL), I.M.G., were asked the question of the prosepct for revolution. The final analysis by The Observer is in the headline, "There will be no revolution--official".

The conventional revolutionary position is that this 'emergency' will mean that pressure can be exerted upon the miners, the electrical engineers, the railwaymen...and the Arabs (?) to restore our energy (One of the things the Industrial Relations Act has done is to stop strikes; there seem to be so many alternative ways of doing it.)

But there are contradictions within capitalism, there are capitalists, like the head of Courtaulds, who see the wisdom of paying off the miners; in the same way there have long been Trade Union leaders who see, on a purely cash basis, that the future prosperity of capitalism. Involvement in a wage struggle, by itself, is not specifically revolutionary. Indeed, some of the present wage-struggles are about differentials - which seek to preserve inequalities between workers and assuredly help employers to divide and conquer.

We live in interesting times and if the close-down-industry ploy is not just a bluff, we might see people working out new ways of living --we might even discover that we can live on three days work a week. But can capitalism?

This much is clear. The Government's economic policy has failed. The pressure on the Trade Unions was not enought to make them co-operate. They may yet do a deal. This is purely a power conflict between the unions and the Government with the Government using their emergency powers to underline the sense of crisis.

It has already been said by Mr. Heath that the miners' "strike" is more devastating in its effects on the economy than the Arab oil embargo. This is denied by Andrew Shonfield, the economist, in the Observer (16.12.73) who thinks that the Arab oil position will be more long-lasting. This is a more tenable position and it is obvious that Mr. Heath with the undoubted backing of Whitelaw has determined on this show-down with the miners and ultimately with the trade-union movement.

At the same time Heath's economic plans have collapsed, not only be-

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TOP DISC SUNNINGDALE

In an article published in FREEDOM some time ago when Harold Wilson after a flying visit to Dublin made his famous 'united Ireland in fifteen years' speech I predicted that this was to be porridge for Ireland from British politicians over the coming period. From that speech in September 1971 to Sunningdale is a long way in terms of change in the reality of the situation coming past the eclipse of Stormont, the rise of the various para-military Orange groupings, the grave splintering of the Unionist Party phalanx, Whitelaw, Assembly elections, the Faulkner, Fitt, Napier coalition to Sunningdale and the Council of Ireland. The only Tory cheer in a very bleak record! A long jump too but in line with Harold Wilson's programme. No doubt more will come despite Ian Paisley, Wilhelm Craig and Harry West. The latter have not yet woken up to the esprit de Common Market - they will though - watch the Reverend gentleman over the next few years!

What about Sunningdale? Does it have any significance? Is it a good thing or a bad thing? What possibilities does it open for libertarians in Northern Ireland? a question which has bothered one of our anarchist contemporaries recently that is if they have not dropped the appelation by the time you read this article. Indeed the same paper appeared to have a sense of unease in explaining their political analysis (oh Jaysus!) of Northern Ireland.

Sunningdale is neither good nor bad and the only significance in it for anarchists is that it allows the opportunity for Anarchists to know each other and where they stand. Sunningdale is one more step forward as somebody said in the march of a nation. For the working class in Northern Ireland will continue to face the daily menu of labour set by their class masters. Price rises, unemployment, bad housing, even lousier environment, these characteristics of the gloomy lot of the working class. It might be that the working class will cease to or curtail their inclination to march under the death-dealing banners of competing merchants of the religious rag trade. It might be so and if it is that will be good but if it is not replaced by a conscious understanding of why we live in an illibertarian society then the Northern Ireland working class will have merely substituted nerve wrecking by bombs with nerve wrecking caused by the barbarities of the more conventional capitalist state, a taste of which we are getting in good measure at the time of writing.

Can the Executive succeed? It can and it probably will. If the South continues to play quid pro quo and thus enlarge the scope of the Faulkner Alliance people it

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GAMES WORKERS PLAY

"Reforms in capitalist society come about mainly as a result of mass struggle, and the concessions which are won often have a deliberate aim of upholding the rule of bourgeois law."

--George Sheridan
The Guardian 10/12/73

THE CONTRADICTION between labour and capital and its consequent class struggle are, whether we like it or not, a political game of hide and seek played by capitalists and workers alike.

This game perpetuates, in a way, the capitalist system in so far as its results operate a warning signal of capitalist excesses which 'advises' the ruling class how to reform society and accommodate itself to the ,imited economic demands put in by workers in the form of strikes for increased salaries, the right to work, better pensions, more education and welfare services and cuts in unemployment. The insistence from socialists, communists, Trotskyists, Maoists and some libertarian groups for a needed increase in class consciousness among workers as a revolutionary pre-condition for a total victory over capitalism results, consequently, in the continuation of this class game. The reality being that the organised working class in this country is a self-product of Capitalism itself, tied up, as a baby in its mother's womb, by an economic, educational and social cord to a system of wage slavery, it is time we stopped this game and asked ourselves if it is possible to find or devise new forms of struggle which do not play into the hands of our exploiters, but aim decisively at smashing capitalism and its class structure.

Today, almost every political faction in the British left agrees at least on one thing; that Capitalism is in crisis! Their belief is based on the knowledge that bosses - via the N.I.R.C., police arrests, trials, freezes and phases I, II and III are attacking the working class in order to redress falling profits.

But a daily review of the Financial Times and City Press will show instead that almost all British companies have announced increased profits over previous years, and that contrary to what is believed by the theoreticians of the left, it is the working class, from whom these increased profits are extracted, which is in crisis and not our fattening employers.

In the light of our assumptions, we are led to question IF this "working class crisis" is not the direct result of a demogogic leadership which has constantly failed to make a correct analysis of the inner workings of our capitalist society.

The existence in this country of a strong trade unicnist, cooperativist and leftist militant tradition (Communist Party, Trots and Maoists) has been unable to even dent seriously the glossy facial paint of British capitalism.

To blame the lack of political class consciousness among the workers for this failure, as many leftists often do, is to let transpire the paternalistic essence of the Marxist-Leninist "philosophy", which is presented to the working class of this country as the only possible cure for social ailments. To those, we say that Marxism never has been and never will be the revoluntionary tool to achieve total workers' emancipation.

Therefore we ask our "Marxian" friends to think again, to free themselves of any romantic notion they may have for this country of the possibility to achieve a revolution, Russian, Chinese, Albanian or Cuban style.

The 1936 Spanish Revolution, the 1968 May events in France and the 1973 Chilean disaster are lessons which workers in this country should study seriously and objectively, because these three historical events, differently spaced in time and place, show to those who want to see it that so-called Revolutionary and Woekrs parties are, in pre-revolutionary times, an hindrance to the revolutionary mood found, regardless of orthodox class consciousness, in the hearts of oppressed people.

Anarchists have no blueprint for revolutions. We only hope that imagination, courage and utopian need for radical change will inspire in an anarchistic sort of way those workers all over the world who are already questioning the rules of the games they are asked to play.

Claude.

BUSINESS AS USUAL

"The most remarkable feature of life in Northern Ireland, perhaps, is the limited direct impact civil violence has had on industrial activity. Because of disturbances elsewhere, even in the new Assembly, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that, over the past four years, only 16 manufacturing companies have closed down permanently as a result of physical damage and that this has involved the loss of not more than 800 jobs to a working population of over 555,000.

"To some extent, this success can be attributed to the efforts of employers and trade union leaders, who agreed very early on that the troubles must not be allowed to hamper economic progress. They still maintain a small team of respected trouble shooters who are prepared to step in quickly to smooth over any difficulties."

Financial Times 10.12.73

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...ONE MONTH REMOVED FROM THE BREADLINE...WHO WANTS TO SIT ON ANOTHER COMMITTEE...ANOTHER VOTING PAPER...

THE GENTLE NEGATIVE

Alex Comfort forms part of the trinity of contemporary libertarian thought and his contribution was to propagate the need for an acceptance of 'sex without guilt' and to offer the anarchists not only as people of non-violent actions but as educators. An accepted authority on a number of accepted subjects and a poet of minor talent, one reads and listens to what he has to say with respect but until now without questioning.

What Rough Beast? is a long duplicated pamphlet of a talk given by Alex Comfort and carries a long and extremely valid introduction by Colin Ward. Alex is a committed man in that he has gone to prison for his beliefs, demonstrated and taken an active part in non violent actions against the authority of the state, but as one reads one becomes more and more to feel that what Comfort offers is a gentle negation in the form of a permanent protest. There is a Dickensian air about his pronouncements which led Maurice Carstairs to ask why 'as an anarchist he was prescribing rules', but in his dismissal of 'old style revolutionary anarchism as irrelevent' because it was trying to be directive and only trying to supply better institutions to replace existing institutions Comfort reveals the frailty of his own position.

Comfort claims that his anarchism is founded in his scientific approach and I would hold that our first claim to be anarchists is emotional and many of the answers that Comfort and his followers give to contemporary problems are dictated by an emotional view of the problems. Comfort dismisses every form of government aside with a wave of the pen--yea even the liberal version of World Government and I would accept this but he then hands down a program as complex and as demanding as that of any political group for it ranges from experiments in communal living to workers' control in industry. It is interesting to note that one of the new student groups is also offering not only workers control of industry but a removal of the punitive element in justice and all in all it is this Dickensian belief that there is a general goodness and by handing out a social charity in place of the Christmas goose, problems have been solved. I as an unskilled worker am one of the battery fodder of any new society and if it will promise me heat, food, comfort be it books or beer in my fast approaching old age I will look on it with a kindly but protesting eye. But this I know, when Comfort and the students talk of giving us workers control of industry they are talking nonsense.

What Rough Beast? - Alex Comfort intro. by Colin Ward. (Books & Things, 6a Penryn St. Redruth. 15p)

The British General Strike 1926 by Margaret Morris (Historical Association, 59 Kennington Park Road, London, S. E. 11.

Libertarian Readings (Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications. 10p)

Poems by Jim Huggon (Kropotkin's Lighthouse Publications. 10p)

A Single Collection, poems by Wendy Smith. (Enquiries to Freedom Press)

Another form of power struggle

This is one of those good jargon phrases that everyone from the Liberal Party, with worker participation, to the ultra-Stalinist left have mouthed for a generation but to me it has always stunk of the Corporate State or the managerial society. Those who talk of workers control would seem to be completely divorced from the scene of action. For while judges, students studying no more than the humanities or the fake religion of sociology, or the small village grocer can demand, receive and practise workers' control it is because they are the end product and whatever the result they walk off with the prize; but in the factories, in the huge shifting work force of the building industry or in the isolation of the farm workers, workers' control can mean no more than another voting paper through the organised union setup. Any government, any employer will welcome workers' control as long as they continue to collect the profits, and if you accept the removal of the profit motive then workers' control becomes no more than another form of power struggle for the mind of an indifferent worker. Within a capitalist society all that the worker can demand is to be informed on all aspects of policy be it boardroom or union, and when he knows what is being suggested or bruited by those in authority then, in the canteen, the lavatory and on the work floor he can seek to influence that decision by, and mark it well Alex, voiced protest. Too too often workers learn of decisions affecting their lives through a casual newspaper item and no matter how much you pack out a boardroom with God's horny-handed, decisions will still be made in another room. There can only be working class control of all means of all means of production and when that comes about who wants to sit on another committee running the bloody factory and answerable to other workers in component factories or fields. Alex makes too much of his role as a protester and one sees him and others as part of an elitist minority handing out dictats and yet remaining an official and permanent opposition. I do not feel that they wish to alter the structure of their societies but merely, like the Fabians whom Alex rejects, to direct its muddy flow through history. We are on the verge of great national industrial strikes and it is the tragedy of the anarchist movement that we are rejected. Much blame for this must lie with the philosophical anarchists such as Alex and Colin who appear to isolate themselves from the brute struggle of the mine and the factory floor to preach to those who accept anarchism as they accept God because they find it uplifting, non-committing and can be forgotten in the stroll between classes or the publishers. Alex writes 'the role of protest in substance, as against paper revolution may, to my mind, be the leading political feature of the new style'. And this is the voice of those who will never accept the responsibility for the human failures that our daily efforts to survive must produce -- for we shall fail we shall fail but please spare us the voice from the back seat of history's chariot no matter how well intentioned, for there will come that moment when the sweating, frightened, hungry human race will cry 'either get out and push or fuck off'.

...the T.U.C. did nothing

Margaret Morris is the author of the latest Historical Association pamphlet and it is of the British General Strike 1926. Like all the Association's pamphlets it is well written, well reasoned and unbiased. In July of 1925 the miners forced the Tory government to grant the mining industry a nine months' subsidy, and that 'Red Friday' was hailed as a victory but the government had learned its lesson the hard way as they had to in the 1919 police strike, and while the militant workers were prepared for a national strike against the cut in their low national wages the T.U.C. did nothing. The strike began on the 4th of May 1926 but it should be hammered into every working class head that it was triggered off by the mine owners'

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ANARCHIST ANSWER TO MARX

WITH THE GROWTH of interest in anarchism (if not actually in anarchist ideas) there has been a tendency for curious hybrid forms of anarchism to spring up. Excluding the hyphenate variations of anarchism which, at their best, can be taken as indications of methods and emphasis of and on anarchism; one has heard of Maoist, Marxist and Trotskyist forms of anarchism, or, to put it at its weakest, "libertarian" variations of these creeds with a wide sweeping generalization like 'libertarian socialism' which is taken to mean yet another (possibly diluted or respectable) form of anarchism.

It is not the purpose of this essay to go into all the varieties of anarchism which are capable of endless theoretical discussion but to refer to one specific contest and controversy: that between Marx and Bakunin which is well enough documented and historically verifiable to avoid profitless specualtion as to what would have happened had Trotsky won, or what will happen in China.

* * * *

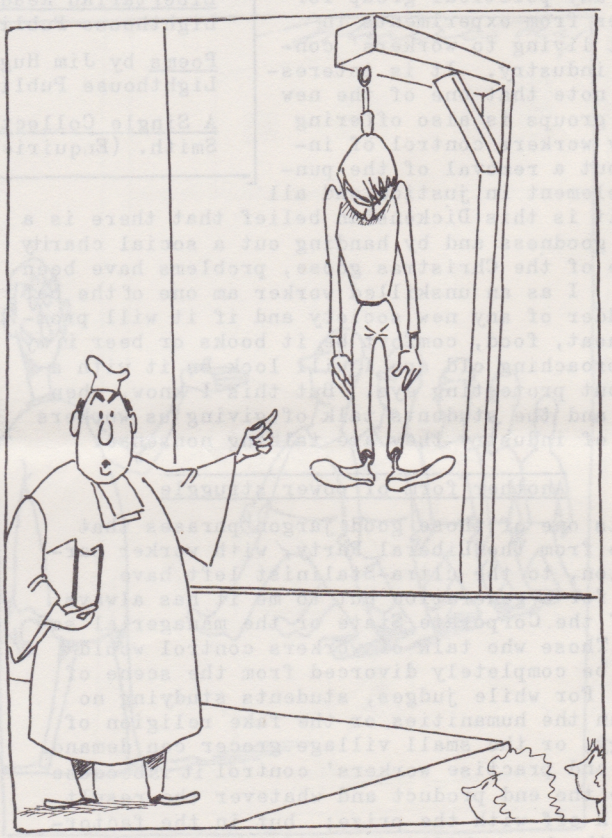
In one sense the Marx-Bakunin controversy, at least from Bakunin's side, could provide a model for some of the controversy which has disfigured the anarchist press in recent months. Bakunin was quite capable of recognising that differences did not necessarily lead to enmity. He retained his respect for Karl Marx, with whose views he widely differed, to the end. The same could not be said of Marx with respect to Bakunin.

In November 1864, for example, Bakunin wrote to a friend, "At that time I had a little note from Marx, in which he asked me whether he could come to see me the next day. I answered in the affirmative and he came. We had an explanation. He said that he had never said or done anything against me, that, on the contrary, he had always been my true friend, and had retained great respect for me. I knew that he was lying, but I really no longer bore any grudge against him. . . I had read the manifesto written by him in the name of the provisional General Council, a manifesto which was weighty, earnest and profound, like everything that came from his pen, when he was not engaged in personal polemic."

Among the scandalizing, Marx accused Bakunin (in 1848) of being a paid spy in the employ of the Russian Ambassador, Marx's newspaper asserted that George Sand, the novelist, would verify the charges. Bakunin appealed to her and she wrote to the Rheinische Zeitung "the facts related by your correspondent are absolutely false. I never had any documents which contained insinuations against M. Bakunin. I never had any reason or authority, to express any doubts as to the loyalty of his character and the sincerity of his views. I appeal to your honour and to your conscience to print this letter in your paper immediately." In 1853 Marx had to withdraw the same charge in the London Morning Post. In 1868 William Liebeknecht declared that Bakunin was in the Czar's pay. Bebel also wrote to a friend that "Bakunin was probably an agent of the Russian government". Thus the Marxist lies about Bakunin survived and thrived.

All these libels were the background to a struggle by Marx for the control of the International and the insinuation of political action into its official doctrine. Marx won in the end yet, in the light of history, who is to say that if Bakunin had been prepared to follow out in full parallel tactics (as it was he took some minor tricky moves) the course of the history of the International, the labour movement - and of Europe - would not have been vastly different? As it was the Nechayev scandals, which were real enough, were used to Marx to great effect.

1. We no longer dispose of Anarchists



2. in barbaric fashion

Behind all these scandals was a great doctrinal gulf which persists to this day and no amount of hyphenating, of Maoist, Trotskyist, Leninist and Marxist text-bashing, can obscure the basic gap. 'The devil can quote scripture to his purpose' and disciples are notorious betrayers - Marx himself said 'I am no Marxist' - nor by any definition can any anarchist be.

Primarily the Marxist doctrine depends upon the creation of a State -- a workers' State which in some messianic text, partly the work of Engels, will wither away eventually. This is to be accomplished apparently by some dialectical process such as Stalin formulated, 'building up the State in order to prepare for the withering away of the State'. The anarchist idea is the destruction of State power.

Marx, who somebody said was the last of the Old Testament prophets, believed in the messianic mission of the working class to seize power and by that act to abolish the class structure. The definition of the proletariat is necessarily conditioned by social conditions in Marx's time and his entire concepts are pre-psychological, not to say anti-psychological. Marx even differentiates a lumpen-proletariat (to whom a vast number of anarchists would belong) as the passively rotting layer of the proletariat - in short 'the scum'.

This concept of a class which would march into the Promised Land is to be bolstered by the growth of class-consciousness which would enable the class system itself to disappear in the dictatorship of the proletariat - with its ambivalent 'of'.

Whilst Bakunin believed in Federalism, Marx believed in centralism, aiding the growth of the nation-state. Hence the widespread belief in National liberation. Communist perspective has always been from the State downwards, as opposed to the anarchist emphasis upon the individual and ultimately society and the federation of societies:

"We must abandon once and for all this false principle of nationality, which has been invented in these last years by the despots of France, Russia, and Prussia, only in order to stifle the supreme principle of liberty. Nationalisty is not a principle. It is a fact as legitimate as individuality. Every nationality, small or great, has the incontestable right to be itself, to live according to its own nature; this right is merely a result of the universal principle of liberty."

Marx believed in Communism, which in whatever of the 57 varieties of label we are offered it emerges in the finished product as a form of State Capitalism, whether Soviet, Chinese, Cuban, Yugo-Slavian or Vietnamese, and for anarchists, we can have none of it. To quote Bakunin:

"I hate Communism because it is the negation of liberty and because for me humanity is unthinkable without liberty. I am not a Communist because Communism concentrates and swallows up in itself for the benefit of the State all the forces of society, because it inevitably leads to the concentration of property in the hands of the State, the final eradication of the principle of authority and patronage proper to the State, which under the pretext of civilising and moralising men, has hitherto only enslaved, persecuted, exploited and corrupted them. I want to see society and collective or social property organised from below upwards, by way of free associations, not from above downwards, by means of any kind of authority whatsoever. Wishing for the abolition of the State, I wish at the same time for the abolition of personal inherited property, which is nothing more than a state institution, a direct consequence of the principles of the State. That is the sense in which I am a Collectivist, but not a Communist."

Conditioned as they were by the circumstances of their day, Marx and Bakunin had a touching belief in the inevitability of scientific progress and

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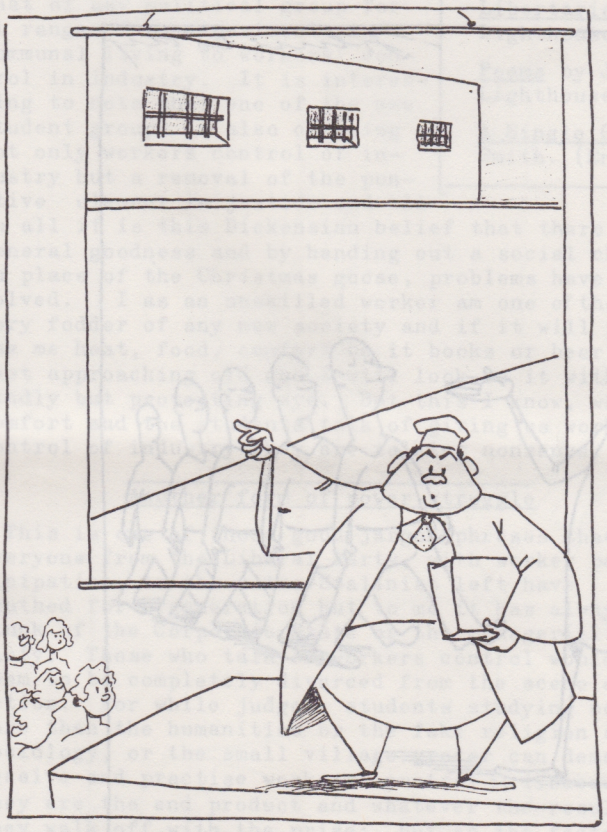
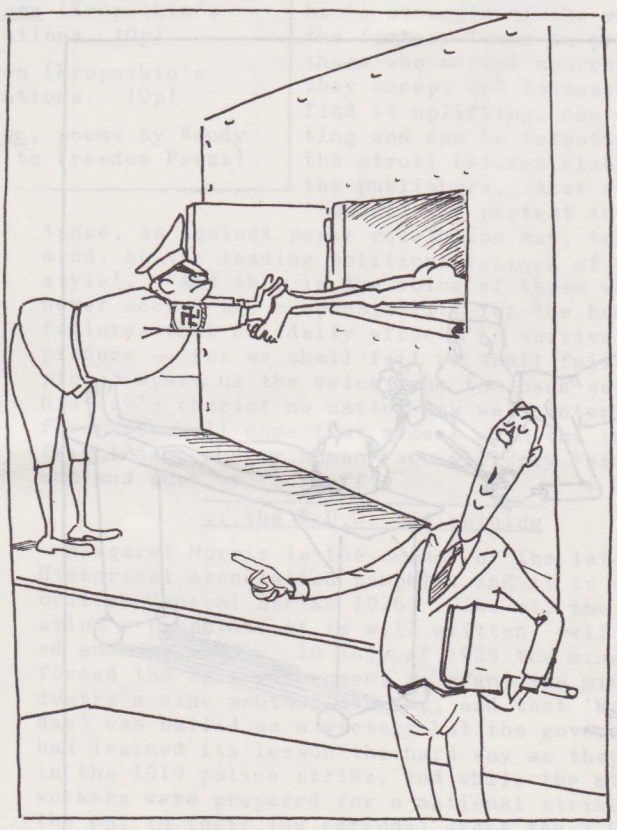


3. as in the past.



4. Why waste if we can

THE ANARCHIST ANSWER TO MARX... cont. from P. 5

unquestioned belief in the virtues of industrialization. Marxists in and out of power have exercised these beliefs to an extent where the 'peasant' has ranked very low on the scale of human society under communism. Mitrany in his book, Marx against the Peasant, has documented this thesis. Stalin's creation of famine in the 'twenties in pursuit of collectivism is only one example. Cuba's reversion to mono-culture agriculture and the haste of all Communist states to a lopsided industrial scientific economy is further evidence. Developments in China are in an early stage and it is justifiable on a time scale to equate China with Russia in the late 'twenties.

It is improbable that even Marx himself, and certainly not Bakunin, would have retained the same unbalanced structure of industry dominating agriculture which prevails today in capitalist and state-capitalist societies.

The acceptance by Marx and the International (under his dominance) of the political road to power has led to the usual shabby compromises. We have recently seen the capitalist USA sitting down with the State Capitalist USSR to settle the future of the feudalist Arab States and the capitalist social-democratic theocratic state of Israel. As late as the 'twenties Lenin called the League of Nations a "thieves' kitchen". Mao's China's greatest diplomatic triumph was her acceptance into the newly furbished kitchen, the United Nations.

As for internal political compromises, just watch the pre-election attitudes of the various Communist and quasi-communist groups in regard to the Labour Party. If a party or a group is determined on the capture of political power it will be, in the end, captured by it.

It is perfectly true that in the aim of achieving economic freedom (but not equality) and advancing human welfare (but not freedom) the so-called Communist states have been highly successful. But this is a purely technical and technological process achievable by any authoritarian state regardless of ideology or benevolent intentions.

The difference between the anarchist and the Marxist lies in the anarchist emphasis upon personal freedom as the primary need. Freedom from economic exploitation is all too often replaced by a total lack of personal freedom; indeed such freedom was described by Lenin as a "bourgeois prejudice"

The anarchists, unlike the Marxists, desire to see a free society built from the bottom up by autonomous associations freely entered into and not, as with Marxist Communism, pre-determined forms of organization handed down from above for enthusiastic concurrence and acceptance by the proletariat.

It was claimed by Guy Aldred, not a very profound thinker and himself a cantankerous romantic, that Marx defined the Social Revolution whilst Bakunin expressed it. This, with all its limitations, is still correct. The anarchists may be romantic, adventurist, idealist and often elitist, but for them the revolution is not just a textbook concept and something which will be a signal for a change of power but is an event that takes place in the hearts and minds of men.

J.R.

Eighteen Chicago policemen received prison sentences ranging from six years to 18 months for extorting money from bar owners. 57 Chicago policemen have been indicted in the past year and 35 convicted. All of the eighteen sentences were suspended until January 14, allowing the defendants to have Christmas with their families.

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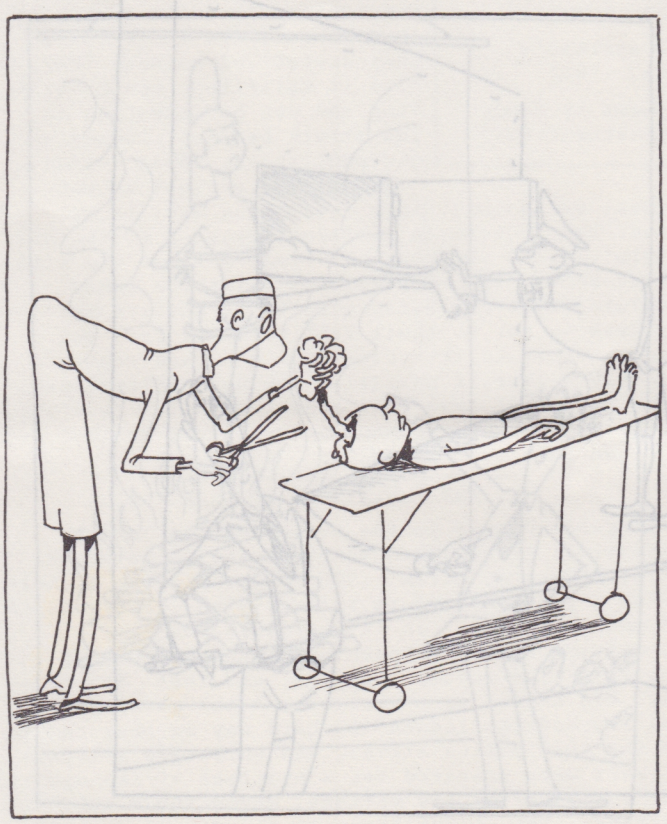

5. turn them

6. into useful citizens.

THE GENTLE NEGATIVE...cont. from P.3

lock-out when the miners had through sheer necessity to refuse to accept a wage cut on their near starvation wages. Margaret Morris spells this out coldly and dispassionately but though many feel that the working class are at the moment living slightly high on the hog, history is being repeated o my comrades and already we are being promised massive unemployment and a drastic cut in the working class living standards. This to me is when the gentle protestations of Alex Comfort and his followers becomes meaningless and the slow and scientific slide to a good society too long to wait, except for those with a guaranteed standard of living. For make no mistake about this, the working class are but one month removed from the bread line in any western society, and when this happens a new type of militant priest and a new type of militant anarchist will force their way to the battle front and the isolation of the philosophical anarchist dons will become all the more obvious and all the more tragic.

Mirrors of our time?

But to turn to lighter pens to illuminate the approaching arabian night. Jim Huggon has produced two excellent duplicated publications. One is Libertarian Readings and contains work by Blake, Shelley, Lawrence, Joe Hill, Vanzetti, Proudhon and Gerrard Winstanley. I feel that there is an overabundance of Shelley but then excellence is surely no fault, but the pamphlet is worthy of the price for the poems of Joe Hill and Gerrard Winstanley. Huggon's second pamphlet is a reissue of his 1970 book of poems. It is emotive poetry that relies on a marriage of many good images. I would be false to claim that it is great poetry for it is in the fashionable mode of introspective thought jotted down in blank verse but it mirrors our time and as such is relevant as a statement of our time. The same can be said of the poetry of Wendy Smith who offers her collected poems in the Russian manner in that she distributes them as a collection of single typewritten sheets within a single envelope. The time is hard for the poet as the small poetry magazines fold one by one, and one should learn from the Russian underground literary scene and duplicate one's poetry and distribute it as an assembly of single sheets within a single envelope to those one wants to contact, and not to expect reward or answer, only the hope that one has made a single contact of like minds. Wendy Smith, like Huggon, Tina Morris, Dave Cunliffe and many other contemporary poets have chosen to fall victim to the fashionable poetic mode of the hour until as the emotive subject matter drains away they become as mannered as the Georgian poets in their day. The quartet I have named still have the gift of song and they should seek a new and more brutal form to display their gifts. Wendy Smith's poetry has a sad, nay haunting beauty and a false sense of hopelessness that is the right of poets. She voices dreams and whispered lamentations, and always in dying falls, for, Alex, only the poet has the right to protest, the pale singer of the muted song.

Arthur Moyse

FREEDOM PRESS

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Contact

Contact Column is for making contact! Use is free, but donations towards typesetting costs are welcome

THURSDAYS 2 - 8 p.m. he help fold & despatch FREEDOM at Freedom Press.

VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY will pass another Xmas and another birthday in prison this year. Picket at Soviet Embassy to remember him & family. Hope you can stop by during the day of Sunday, 30th December (David Markham)

MENTAL PATIENTS UNION (1) new N.W. London group contact Geo. Robinson, 25 Oxenholme, Harrington Square, N.W.1 (387-3143)

(2) MPU no longer in Prince of Wales Road. Co-ordinating Committee MPU c/o 37 Mayola Road, Clapton E.5 or (if necessary) phone 01-986 5251

CORBY WITHDRAW THE TROOPS CAMPAIGN. For details of activities phone Terry Phillips at Corby 66781.

CABARET OF THE MINORITIES will be located Wednesdays, Thurs. & Fridays at Int. Libertarian Centre, 83A Haverstock Hill NW3. Commencing January. Artistes: è Scott, John Olday, Donovan Pedelty &c.

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INT$ LIBERTARIAN CENTRE/CENTRO IBERICO 83A Haverstock Hill NW3 Sats. & Suns 7.30

IRISH LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST FED. write New Earth, 112 Thomas St. Dublin 8

SOME LONDON ANARCHISTS meet socially Sundays 7.30 p.m. at Finch's The One Tun, Goodge St. W. 1 (Don't ask at bar).

New York: LIBERTARIAN BOOK CLUB 1974 Lectures: Thurs. 7.30 p.m. Workmen's Circle Center, 369 8th Ave (SW corner of 29 St.) admission free. Jan 24: Julian Beck & Judith Malina "The Living Theatre"; Feb. 14: IWW N.Y. Branch: "LIP and Workers' Control"; Feb 28: Sam Dolgoff "The Spanish Collectives".

CORRECTION of address GIOVANNI MARINI DEFENCE COMMITTEE: PAOLO BRASCHI, C.P. 4263, 20100 MILAN, ITALY

EMERGENCY...continued from Page 1

cause of trade union resistance (which has been sporadic and not united) but because of a galloping import imbalance which cannot be controlled because of the Common Market, and the final blow of the increasing cost of Arab oil.

The miners, and by implication the trade unions, will be saddled with the failure of economic policy. Mr. Heath and his Conservative government might spring an election on the strength of it.

The second alternative hinted at in many quarters is even more dangercus than being saddled with the same stupid party for another fiveyears. It is the idea of coalition. The scene has been set, hints have been dropped. For example, "There comes a moment in history when people should wait for leadership no longer, but rise up and demand to be led." This was said by Sir Michael Clapham, president of the Confederation of British Industry. One can see where this kind of totalitarian thinking will lead us!

Already eyes have been cast at William Whitelaw who 'solved' the Ulster problem...he might given the power solve this one. The general idea has got around that it only needs men of good-will like Alfred Robens, George Brown, etc. to get together with the best of the Tories (we might even get rid of Heath and Sir Alec) and pull the country out of the mess.

It worked before. The National Government of Stanley Baldwin incorporated Liberals and prominent Labour men like Ramsay MacDonald, Phillip Snowden and J. H. Thomas and it put back social progress in Britain by about fifty years. There was no need for Fascism, nor is there when Parliamentary democracy can use an emergency to produce the same effects.

Jack Robinson

The RELEASE MARTIN SOSTRE COMMITTEE says "£5,000 Fighting Fund needed urgently to save Martin Sostre from being murdered by the U.S. Prison authorities," and ask for donations to be sent to the Committee at 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (tel. 586 2038). Contact John Saunders or Bill West.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE is at 54 Harcombe Road London N. 15

BELFAST TEN DEFENCE COMMITTEE 88 Roslyn Road, London, N. 15

FREEDOM for 29th December is being printed in advance so no new Contact Column entries can appear until January 5th issue.

SUNNINGDALE···cont'd from Page 1

most certainly will. If on the other hand the Bill being presented through the Southern Parliament to legalise contraceptives (no, not to provide an urban sewerage system but to legalise contraceptives) falls then the Paisleys will have a powerful counter to the arguments of the Faulkner-Fitt alliance and it might be necessary to redraft the agreement in the short term - to take one step backward to go two steps forward as another famous revolutionary once said!

Should British troops withdraw from Northern Ireland? Hah, where does that take us? There can only be one anarchist view of national armies whether the national army concerned is Irish, British or Chinese. Need I repeat it here - and it does not matter whether that army is in Ballykinlar, Dundalk or Colchester.[1] No doubt, if the British army withdrew from Northern Ireland, it would be replaced (if possible) by the Irish army in the first place but after some 'diplomatic activity' by that famous panacea - a United Nations force. Those who campaigned over here for that objective could then wash their hands, have a gargle a and sleep well. The essence of the change wouldbe like me asking somebody for a loan of six old pence to buy myself a cigarette but giving another man two-and-a-half new pence before I reached the shop. When I did reach the shop I would search my pockets, scratch my head and wonder what had happened.

David Pickett

1 Bibliography, 'Nationalism and Culture' R. Rocker.
'The Political Philosophy of Michael Bakunin' edited by Gr. Maximoff.

LEGALISE POT?

Fred Barber of 15 St. James Terrace, Buxton, Derbyshire, has issued a press release for the Campaign for the Legalisation of Cannabis. Whilst as anarchists we are in favour of repealing laws - all of them preferably - and the laws regarding cannabis have produced a large quota of tyranny and misery we cannot enthuse about this campaign and petition. We do not enthusiastically welcome the advent of more escapist substances on the open market which will, no doubt, produce in due course substantial income for the Inland Revenue; not to mention the legitimate commercial respectable pushers who are waiting for it to be made legal so that they can cash in. It is already known that cigarette-paper manufacturers have been advertising in American underground publications, thus increasing the profits of both.

J.R.

we survived!

WE ARE reminded of the story of the man when asked what he did in the French revolution said, "I survived." Looking back over 1973 we can echo him.

As yet there is no revolution but FREEDOM has survived the life and death of the majority of big-circulation undergound papers. We also outlived Life and two (or was it three?) new journals that fizzled out on the launching pad.

The loyalty of our old subscribers has sustained us through these difficult reduced circumstances, the work and loyalty of our contributors has ensured that we have been able to present something interesting every week. Additionally the work of the back-room boys and girls, not least our paste-up man and our despatchers has made certain that we can send the paper out (although we could do with more help in despatching --every Thursday.)

We know that survival is not enough and we are trying to make FREEDOM a better, brighter paper (without burrowing down into the underground). We hope to have more illustrations - but not just illustrations for the illiterate. Our printing process makes it possible from time to time to reproduce illustrations at low cost.

We have also the hope, and it can still only be a hope based upon our financial prospects of increasing the size of FREEDOM. This is not a concession to the grudging 'comrades' who call attention to the superior size of X brand paper at the same price! Well, if it's just size you want, buy the Daily Telegraph! In fact, measured by wordage FREEDOM contains much more than other papers padded out as they are by white space and illustrations.

The need for FREEDOM, and for a wider circulation for FREEDOM, is greater than ever. There are now other papers in the same field but there are, of course, specific differences of emphasis and viewpoint and we feel that FREEDOM complements these and fills in the picture of anarchism from all sources. You may not always agree with some of FREEDOM but the constant introduction and interplay of new ideas (many of them which one may disagree with at first) is the only way by which one's intellectual stature and revolutionary awareness can grow.

We need more readers and subscribers.

EDITORS

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